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ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF CAPITALIST INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

DECISION OF
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF CHINA

中共中央关于資本主义
工商業改造問題的决議
（英文）

GENERAL OFFICE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA
中共中央办公厅印

DECISION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF CAPITALIST INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

This document was discussed and adopted as a draft decision at a meeting called by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and attended by representatives of Party committees of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities during November 16-24, 1955. It was formally adopted at a meeting of the Political Bureau on February 24, 1956, after a few revisions had been made.

I

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, tremendous changes have occurred in the relative positions of the socialist and capitalist economies in our country.

In the course of three years of restoration and three more years of planned construction, we have greatly consolidated and extended the position of socialism in the economic field, and to a great extent weakened and diminished the position of capitalism. In particular, the achievements of socialist industrialization, the immense development of agricultural co-operation and success in the work of planned purchase and distribution of grain and industrial raw materials have enabled the socialist sector of our economy to gain a position of decided advantage over the capitalist sector.

At the same time the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production in capitalist enterprises has emerged very sharply. Without further transformation of capitalist relations of production, it would not be possible to develop the productive forces to conform to the requirements of the people. Instead there would be a serious setback to the productive forces.

Such being the case, conditions now are not only entirely favourable but make it imperative for us to push forward the work of the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce to a new stage. That is to say, we must push on from the original stage—in which we have carried out a policy of giving government contracts for manufacturing and processing to private concerns, using private enterprises as agents or distributors for the state, and in some cases merging private capital with state

capital in joint state-private enterprises—to a new stage. In this new stage the conversion to joint state-private enterprises is carried out in all or most of the concerns in all important trades in different parts of the country. In other words, it is an advance from state-capitalist economy consisting mainly of its lower forms to state-capitalist economy consisting mainly of its higher form.

To carry out the merging of state and private capital in all or most of the concerns in all important private trades so that private industry and commerce will be placed, group by group, completely under the control of the state and the socialist sector of our economy—this is a step of decisive importance in the transition from capitalist ownership to fully socialist public ownership. The joint state-private enterprises, under such conditions, will no longer be merely semi-socialist. In the words of Lenin, they will be "already three-fourths socialist."

II

The *san fan* and *wu fan*[1] struggles in 1952, the last year in the period of restoration of the national economy, were the first steps leading to the situation in which it became possible for the state fully to control capitalist industry and commerce.

Before the *san fan* and *wu fan* movements, owing to the fact that the capitalist sector played an important role in the whole national economy and the working class had not yet carried out intense struggles against the

[1] *San fan*, a movement against the "three evils" of corruption, waste and bureaucratism among government workers. *Wu fan*, the movement against "five evil capitalist practices": bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information for speculation.

bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie was still pompous with power. The *san fan* and *wu fan* struggles called forth high political consciousness in the working class. The bourgeoisie's brazen attack against government workers and the working class with the weapon of the "five evils" was beaten back. The pomp and power of the bourgeoisie, which originally dominated most enterprises, were swept away. Though the bourgeoisie could still at times throw its weight about in a number of medium and small enterprises, its ability to do so was greatly curbed. Thus it was that, since then, supervision by the workers gradually came into practice in a good number of enterprises. As a result, many of the capitalists either lost, or virtually lost, the power of control over their enterprises.

This was a fundamental change. It showed that the bourgeoisie as a class had been overpowered by the workers and the state led by the working class.

At present the Chinese bourgeoisie is confronted with the following conditions:

(1) Within the country there is a strong people's democratic dictatorship headed by the working class;

(2) The socialist economy is growing stronger day by day. It occupies a leading position and plays a leading role in the whole national economy;

(3) Political awareness and strong organizational ability on the part of the workers;

(4) A peasantry which identifies itself with the workers and which has formed a solid alliance with the working class;

(5) Economically, the bourgeoisie no longer has the conditions for an independent existence. It is full of contradictions within itself, and as a class is in a state of collapse and disintegration;

(6) China is assisted by the Soviet Union, there exist a powerful socialist camp and other conditions in the international sphere, etc.

All this shows that there is no other way for the bourgeoisie but to bow to the working class, to behave in a somewhat "civilized" way, to carry out fairly honestly the task given it by the state and so to take the road of transformation pointed out by our Party. The whole situation is already very clear. The workers and employees in capitalist concerns are no longer willing to continue living in the old way. The bourgeoisie too can no longer continue its life and its control in the old manner. It is therefore necessary for the Party to guide this transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, earnestly and with initiative and enthusiasm, so as to carry out the general line of the Party for the period of transition to socialism; and to see to it that this work goes ahead in step with the work of socialist industrialization and agricultural co-operation so that we will gradually attain our goal of building a socialist society.

III

Facts have proved that our policy of entering into alliance with the national bourgeoisie, both during the period of democratic revolution and after the founding of the People's Republic of China, has been necessary and correct, and that it therefore corresponded with the interests of the working class and the entire people.

The formation of this alliance depended, on the one hand, on the attitude of the national bourgeoisie. If it had not needed this alliance, and refused it, simply taking an antagonistic attitude to us, then the alliance would of course have been impossible. On the other hand, if we had not put forward this policy when it was necessary and possible to form such an alliance, or if a number of important questions of policy relating to it had not been correctly defined, then this alliance could not have come into being either. And even if it had, the desired

results, beneficial to the people, could not have been attained. The establishment of the alliance with the national bourgeoisie, therefore, depended not only on the condition of the other party, but also on our own policy.

During the period of democratic revolution, we turned to account the contradictions between the national bourgeoisie on the one hand and imperialism and the Kuomintang on the other, and the fact that it was dissatisfied with the rule of the reactionaries and willing to take part in the struggle against imperialism and the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang. We therefore adopted a policy of uniting with the national bourgeoisie. But when the national bourgeoisie wavered and showed signs of compromise, our policy towards it was one of criticism and struggle. Thanks to this policy of "unity-and-struggle," we sufficiently isolated our enemies politically, and to a certain extent fortified the attitude of the national bourgeoisie of going along with us. It is apparent that this policy of ours was successful.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, that is, after the people overthrew the rule of the imperialists and the Kuomintang, our direction was socialism; but the wish of the bourgeoisie was to develop capitalism. These views, of course, were contradictory. Nevertheless, our alliance with the national bourgeoisie still continued, for the following reasons:

(1) The national bourgeoisie expressed its support for the People's Republic, the Common Programme and the Constitution. It also expressed its willingness to continue to oppose the imperialists, and gave its approval to the land reform;

(2) We already had a united front with the national bourgeoisie. If it did not want to break with us, we could not casually throw it off, as this would be difficult for the people to understand;

(3) When we began to take over the state power throughout the country, we were confronted with the

enormous task of restoring the national economy, which had suffered serious damage at the hands of the imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries. Moreover, because of the economic backwardness of our country, with small producers occupying a predominant position, it was necessary that we enter into an economic alliance with the national bourgeoisie which was willing to accept state capitalism. It was necessary, in doing this, to utilize the positive aspects of capitalist industry and commerce which were beneficial to the national welfare and the people's livelihood, and to restrict their negative aspects which were harmful to the national welfare and the people's livelihood. And it was necessary to speed up economic restoration so as to produce more industrial goods to exchange with the peasants for their agricultural produce;

(4) The method which we adopted to curtail capitalism and gradually to transform the system of private ownership gave our Party and the working class greater convenience and more time in studying and preparing to master industrial and business administration. Thus it became possible to turn the capitalist system into the socialist system with as little loss and damage as possible. Furthermore, in the period after the victory of the revolution, our Party and the working class were busy taking over the enterprises of the bureaucrat-capitalists and carrying out the land reform. We were short of cadres and could not have done much about the numerous private-capitalist enterprises.

Such being the case, we did not consider it expedient to confiscate the capitalist enterprises after we had taken the state power into our hands. For all the reasons mentioned above, too, the working class, under the leadership of the Party, formed an alliance with the national bourgeoisie, on the basis of the firm alliance which it had already formed with the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

Clearly, the policy we adopted, of entering into alliance with the national bourgeoisie, has had marked results, for this policy not only continued politically to isolate our enemy to the greatest possible extent but also brought many economic benefits. In such a situation, making use of the administrative organs of the state, the leadership of state economy and the supervision of the working class, we could adopt peaceful methods gradually to transform the capitalist industry and commerce. Step by step, through various forms of state capitalism, we could turn private-capitalist ownership into socialist ownership by the whole people.

This method, however, does not mean that we do not give the bourgeoisie any compensation. In order to form and maintain this alliance, and to achieve socialism with the aid of state capitalism, it has been necessary for us to give the capitalist class a very large amount of material compensation through a policy of redeeming, not confiscating, the means of production owned by the capitalist class.

Such a policy arises from the special historical conditions of China and it does not run counter to Marxist principles. Marx, Engels and Lenin all held that, under certain conditions, a policy of redemption might be permissible, and might be of advantage to the working class.

Our method of redemption is as follows: Within a period of about ten years from the founding of the People's Republic of China, the working class continues to produce some profit for the capitalists, while turning out products to meet the needs of the people and the state. In the distribution of profits in the enterprises, less than one-fourth goes to the capitalists. But if we add up their profits over ten years or so, the total amount is about 2,000 million yuan. The buying out is gradual, not outright. It is financed not by the state appropriating specific funds for the purpose, but by the working class

continuing to produce some profit for the capitalists for about ten years.

This method of redemption has been carried out over the past six years and will be continued for as long as it is deemed necessary. Apart from this way of redeeming the means of production owned by the capitalist class, relatively high salaries are paid to those capitalists who, because of their technical skill or ability in business management, can help such enterprises to make more industrial products for the state. In addition, a fair number of capitalists who are only nominal staff members of such enterprises have been getting fairly high salaries right up to the present. A number of them have no abilities; their names are on the payroll and they draw salaries. These are also forms of redemption in the transition period, and quite necessary ones.

IV

There is, therefore, a great difference between our methods of dealing with capitalist ownership of the means of production, and those we used in dealing with landlord ownership of the land.

In dealing with the landlords, our method was to confiscate their land and other means of production without any compensation, then to educate and remould them through labour, depriving them of the right to vote for a certain period. Our method with the capitalists, practised in the course of uniting with them, is to change their ownership of the means of production step by step through redemption. At the same time, we educate and remould them, step by step, without depriving them of voting rights. Thus we can utilize fully their abilities to serve the country.

Our policy towards the bourgeoisie is:

Firstly, through the method of redemption and the form of state capitalism, we gradually, not abruptly,

change capitalist ownership by paying compensation, not by expropriation without compensation;

Secondly, at the same time as we remould them, we make necessary arrangements regarding their work;

Thirdly, we do not deprive the capitalists of the right to vote; we make appropriate political arrangements for those of their representatives who actively support and make contributions to the cause of socialist transformation.

These measures are acceptable to the capitalists when conditions do not permit them to take any other road. Not only a fairly large number of capitalist representatives but the overwhelming majority of the capitalist class have openly expressed their willingness to accept such measures.

This method has made it possible for us to bring about the socialist transformation of capitalist enterprises, step by step, without meeting many obstacles.

V

Within the bourgeoisie the counter-revolutionaries or other bad elements who have committed serious crimes constitute only a small percentage, possibly 5 per cent. Leaving them out of account, the bourgeoisie may generally be classified into three groups: the progressives, the middle group and the backward, that is, the Left, the intermediate and the Right sections of the bourgeoisie. The attitudes of these groups, in so far as their acceptance of socialist transformation is concerned, are not identical. They account for approximately 95 per cent of the bourgeoisie.

This refers to the bourgeoisie as a whole. So far as the bourgeoisie minus the small percentage of counter-revolutionaries is concerned, investigations carried out in a number of places show that the present ratio between the three groups is roughly as follows: approxi-

mately 20 per cent are comparatively progressive; approximately 60 per cent are intermediate elements, that is, they are people who "swim with the tide"; approximately 20 per cent are backward elements, including die-hards.

Our tasks in this sphere are:

Firstly, we must organize those capitalists who have shown themselves as the most progressive and who stand firmly with the People's Government into a core of our strength for drawing the capitalists in industry and commerce to gladly accept socialist transformation. And we must enlarge the ranks of this force in an appropriate way.

Secondly, we must, by means of education, gradually win over the middle group as well as the backward elements, raise the level of political awareness of the majority, help them to make progress, and reduce the number of backward elements year by year.

Thirdly, we must disintegrate the ranks of the die-hards so as to isolate the most intractable among them.

To be successful in the work, first and foremost we must, in accordance with the Party's policy of uniting the capitalists and yet struggling with them, adopt the method of combining encouragement with criticism. This means that we must adopt a down-to-earth attitude towards the various groups of the capitalists, analyse them comprehensively and differentiate our treatment accordingly. We must be elastic in applying the Party's policy of uniting and yet struggling with them. We must encourage the good people among them and praise the good things they have done, and criticize them for their mistakes and shortcomings, always pointing out, precisely, the good people and the good deeds as well as the mistakes and shortcomings. As for the backward elements, we should also make an analysis of them. These people have a backward outlook, but there is also another side to them. For example, they have filled orders and processed goods for the state, bought state

bonds, paid income tax, taken part in the movement to resist American aggression and aid Korea, etc.

If we act along this line, we will have reason entirely on our side; our words will carry weight and we will keep the initiative firmly in our own hands.

To criticize without at times giving encouragement is as one-sided and unconvincing as to encourage without at times making criticism. We must, therefore, adopt the method of encouragement and criticism. We should emphasize on encouragement at one time and criticism at another, as circumstances dictate. While criticizing we should not fail to indicate that there is hope for those criticized to mend their ways. All these methods are aimed at uniting the capitalists and remoulding them, and finally at achieving the purpose of eliminating the bourgeoisie as an exploiting class.

The next thing to do in making the work a success is to carry out the method of combining the transformation of enterprises with the transformation of individuals. That is to say, in the course of the socialist transformation of capitalist enterprises, we must pay attention to applying methods of education and organize study courses for the capitalists. The purpose here is gradually to remould them from exploiters into people living on their own labour.

There are two methods of education. Mass struggle as expressed in the *san fan* and *wu fan* movements is one method. It was a radical method of education, applied to the capitalists without their being consulted. This method of education, imposed from without by the people's state power and the working class and completely necessary on account of the capitalists' insensate attack, was a momentous one, whereby the attack and resistance of the bourgeoisie were, in the main, crushed, and the situation changed. A way opened for us to adopt another method of education. We can now educate the capitalists by lectures, classes, discussions

and study courses. We can also, on appropriate occasions, guide them in practising criticism and self-criticism among themselves and in adopting other means for the purpose of further education. The task is to bring them to understand that transition from capitalism to socialism is the inevitable and irresistible law of history; to understand the connection between patriotism and socialism; to understand the trend of current events and the policies of the government; and to understand that the only possible road for the capitalists is to accept socialist transformation.

In carrying out our work of educating the capitalists, the method of guiding them in criticism and self-criticism among themselves deserves special attention. It is a method which should be widely popularized under proper leadership. Experience gained in many places shows that the various political and economic factors which operate in our country, coupled with the more intensive political studies we have organized for the capitalists, make it possible gradually to increase the number of the progressives in their ranks; gradually to lessen the number of middle group and backward elements, and greatly to reduce the illegal practices resorted to by many capitalists.

Therefore, in the present situation of our country, if we deny the possibility of remoulding the majority (over nine-tenths) of the bourgeoisie by means of education, or if we ignore or belittle the tremendous significance of the method of propaganda and education for the remoulding of capitalists, it will mean we deny the special conditions of the Chinese revolution, the enormous strength of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class, the high prestige and ability of the Communist Party of China, and the correctness of the Party's fundamental policy in forming alliance with the bourgeoisie and adopting state capitalism as a form of transition to socialism.

Undoubtedly, such a viewpoint would be completely wrong.

VI

On the basis of the policy, task and the methods of transforming capitalist industry and commerce as mentioned above, our Party should adopt the following important measures to push the work on to a further stage:

Firstly, the various departments of the Central Committee of the Party, and the Party committees in provinces, autonomous regions and cities must strengthen their leadership, prepare themselves well, ideologically and organizationally, and put forward a comprehensive plan for turning all important trades in private industry and commerce into joint state-private enterprises. This would be envisaged trade by trade, by groups and by periods, in the light of the specific conditions in each place and trade.

Such a comprehensive plan must include:

(1) Overall planning for the production and management of different trades. Here it is necessary to make proper adjustments in the relations between state and private enterprises in each trade, between one private enterprise and another, between modern industry and handicrafts, and between localities. At the same time, we should, whenever necessary, carry out some reorganization, on a major or minor scale, of private enterprises in each trade.

(2) Setting up "trusts" for the different trades (one for each trade or for several trades). This will facilitate the organization of capitalist industry and commerce into joint state-private operation of whole trades. The tasks of the trusts are to carry out the economic work in transforming capitalist industry and commerce, as well as the political education of the capitalists.

(3) Preparations gradually to change from the original method of paying capitalists a definite proportion of the profits of each enterprise to the method of paying them a fixed percentage, at varying rates of interest, on their investments. The method of paying a fixed percentage interest means, in fact, that the enterprise is turned over to the direct management of the state trust. When this is done, a fundamental change will be brought about in the relations of production of the enterprise, which will in turn greatly heighten the enthusiasm of the workers and staff.

Side by side with the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, the transformation of individual handicrafts should, generally speaking, follow the co-operative form. Special conditions in certain trades or areas, however, indicate that individual units, or a part of the small handicrafts, can become joint state-private enterprises together with capitalist industry and commerce.

For the transformation of small business, the co-operative form should generally be adopted in the countryside. In the cities generally and for a considerable length of time, small businesses may act as commission agents or retail distributors for state and co-operative commerce. Such arrangements should be considered as a form of joint state-private operation.

We should exert our effort to achieve, during the period of the First Five-Year Plan—of which only two years, 1956 and 1957, are now left—about 90 per cent of our goal in the transformations mentioned above: the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce by entire trades into joint state-private enterprises and the transformation of small handicrafts and small business through co-operative and other forms.

We should also endeavour, during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan, gradually to turn virtually all joint state-private enterprises into state enterprises.

Secondly, we should educate all Party members and the masses of the workers so that they will understand the correct policy of the Party for the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. The Party must lead, and the masses of the workers must exercise supervision, if we are to successfully transform capitalist industry and commerce into ownership by the whole people through state capitalism, and turn the bourgeois elements in industry and commerce from exploiters gradually into people living on their own labour, by giving them long-term education and making proper arrangements for them. Here the trade unions should play their part well in the work of transforming the capitalists.

Thirdly, we should extend the organization of studies for the capitalists to all large, medium and small cities (in the large and medium cities this should be done at both the municipal and district levels) and all trades. The courses of study should include current events, state policies, the history of the development of society, political knowledge, etc. Party committees and responsible government officials should concern themselves with such work. They should personally give lectures to private capitalists and businessmen.

The United Front Departments and the Propaganda Departments of the Party should be responsible for administering such educational work. They should edit a textbook suitable for the bourgeoisie, which may be used for two or three years. This textbook should stress the point that a strong China, with bright prospects, can be built only by establishing socialism—and that anyone who is concerned with his own future must link himself with the great future of his own country.

In organizing the capitalists for study or carrying out other activities among them, we should make full use of the organizations of capitalists such as the All-

China Federation of Industry and Commerce and the China Democratic National Construction Association, and render them help.

Fourthly, in addition to the courses of study in current events, history of the development of society, etc., we should give opportunities to the capitalists and their families to learn technical skills in the coming few years, so that by the time they give up exploitation, they will be capable of useful work.

Fifthly, the Youth League and Women's Federation should help educate the children and other members of the family of the capitalists.

Sixthly, the Party organizations in capitalist enterprises should be strengthened, so that the Party can play a greater leading role in the work of transformation.

VII

In the past six years, the Party and the People's Government have achieved great successes in transforming capitalist industry and commerce and in educating the capitalists. These successes have paved the way for a rapid and all-round development of the work of transformation. The Party's policy and principles on this question have been correct, and the personnel engaged in the work have made great efforts.

Right and "Left" deviations on this question did, however, crop up in the Party. The Right deviation occurred mainly before the *san fan* and *wu fan* movements. At that time a number of our cadres made unprincipled compromises with the capitalists, failing to draw a clear line between the capitalists and themselves, and were corrupted by the capitalists. After the *san fan* and *wu fan* movements, some comrades learnt no lesson from the struggles and were still guilty of the Right deviation. Some continued to allow themselves

to be corrupted, lost their Party stand and were assimilated by the capitalists, as what took place in the Minsheng Pharmaceutical Works and the No. 1 Pencil Factory in Shanghai well illustrated. Similar cases may be found in other places. This is very bad. We must educate such cadres and set them right. It should also be pointed out that the bourgeois elements will continue their attempts to corrupt us and our struggle against their attempts to corrupt us will be a long one. We cannot expect to solve this problem completely in a short time.

But since the *san fan* and *wu fan* movements, this obvious type of Right deviation on this question has ceased to be the main one in the Party. Cases of corruption have indeed been found, but not many. More frequently deviations with a "Left" tinge have been discovered.

After the *san fan* and *wu fan* movements, the capitalists were isolated, groped about, and wanted to come closer to us. But many Party comrades failed to understand this change. They had been somewhat shaken by the struggle, and grown pessimistic about the possibility of transforming capitalist ownership and the capitalists themselves. Some were afraid of coming into contact with the capitalists; others approached them in a shilly-shally way; still others kept them at "a respectful distance, as if they were ghosts or other supernatural beings." Without thoroughly analysing the actual conditions of the bourgeoisie, they held it would "impair Marxism" to admit that the bourgeoisie has its positive as well as negative side. Although they did not advocate confiscation of capitalist enterprises, they could not bring themselves to believe that the Party, the people, and the state were capable of transforming capitalist ownership and the capitalist elements through peaceful means. Sometimes they simply attempted to "crowd out" the capitalist enterprises, so that they might be spared the actual

work of transforming them. As a result, they lost all initiative and let the capitalist enterprises drift. This tendency, though seemingly "Left," is Right in essence.

Such an erroneous tendency towards inactivity must be corrected. Instead of giving up leadership in the work of transforming capitalist industry and commerce, we should plan it comprehensively and strengthen our leadership. Instead of letting the capitalist enterprises drift, approaching the capitalists in a shilly-shally way or keeping them at "a respectful distance as if they were ghosts or other supernatural beings," we should display initiative and take a positive and serious attitude towards the problem. We should work out a whole programme of propaganda and education for the transformation of private industry and commerce, so that the largest possible number of capitalist enterprises, and of the capitalists themselves, can be transformed in the shortest time possible. By doing this, we can more quickly remove the misgivings on the part of the capitalists and set their mind more or less at rest. This, in turn, will help to speed up the orderly transformation of private industry and commerce.

This transformation will remain, of course, a complex form of class struggle. It is not improbable that many capitalists will continue to vacillate, waver and grumble; a few of them may even keep up resistance. But if we display initiative and take a positive and serious attitude as mentioned above and adopt various concrete measures, we may lessen their vacillation and wear down their resistance, and there will be fewer illegal acts such as stealthily withdrawing their capital. We will be better able to counter the danger of Right deviation in the Party and moreover reduce the number of Party members likely to be corrupted by bourgeois elements by taking the initiative in this matter, treating it in a positive and responsible way, carrying through various concrete measures, and at the same time giving more effective educa-

tion and supervision to all Party members having contacts with capitalists.

Beyond doubt, all the correct policies, principles and measures which we adopt on this question will rally the working class and the people, isolate the die-hards among the capitalists, and bring us final victory in the cause of building socialism.

End June. 10, 734, 384 Membership
1.7% of Total Population.
Throughout Colonies, 538,000 Party Organizations & Branches
Membership Workers, Peasants & Intellectuals
14% Membership Workers 1,500,000
69.1% " Peasants 7,410,000
11.7% " Intellectuals 1,250,000
After Report on Intellectuals 2,592 joined CP
Taken In Jan June 1956
5.2% ~~Workers, etc~~ Various Strata
Women Members are 10% Total Membership
940,000
In Hungary 24% Women members
Within last year months 650000 Youth League
Members joined.
At 7th Congress 1,210,00 Members 1945.
By enrollment of members during Land
Reform, Against Counter-Revolution & Korean War.
Since 1952, 4,730,000 new members
Members in Industry 1,920 000
" " Transport & Communication 230,000
" " Agriculture 6,210,000
" " Education & Culture 410,000

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First Congress July 21, 1921 12 delegates
representing 57 members
Man present

Second Congress July 1922 12 delegates
123 members

Third Congress 1923. 27 delegates
Man present 432 members
elected to C C

Fourth Congress 1925 20 delegates
950 Members

Fifth Congress 1927 80 delegates
57,000 Members

Sixth Congress 1928 84 delegates
40,000 Members

Seventh Congress April 1945
547 delegates
208 Alternates
1,210,000 Membership

印数 1——2000 册
1956 年 9 月 4 日印